

614 Pekuma (9 persons), 28.2 acres, 3.1 acres per head)
Hajejopa (8 persons), 18.1 acres, 2.3 acres per head) Timumu
(If Jegase and Timumu are each taken as a whole, either unit has
2.7 acres per head.)

425 From data recorded for 104 parcels of land held by the Jegase
and Timumu at some time over the past 2 generations we discovered
2 instances of transfers (involving 30 parcels) where the land
had passed from the original holder to one of his co-resident
kinsmen in another lineage or clan. There may well have been
more, earlier examples of such transfers. If so they have been
forgotten by the people who can conveniently treat all previous
occasions when their land changed hands as instances of patri-
lineal inheritance.

614 Three members of these clan branches stated that they intended
423 to transmit a total of 12 parcels to members of other clans (see
Appendix E, pp.111-17). Two other members intended to pass 5 to
their adopted sons and 3 more parcels were to be inherited by an
illegitimate child from his mother (see Appendix E, p.112). One
widower has nominated his sister's son as heir to his parcels of
land and claimed that his sister's son could also receive his
brother's land, allegedly forfeited through long and continued
absence (see Appendix E, pp.112-13). One man said he would leave
8 parcels to members of his adoptive group and the 5 inherited
by his wife would pass to a person of the same group, a different
genealogical branch of her lineage (see pp.60-1).

Land rights of various kinds are acquired and maintained as a
function of one's relationships with any of a number of groups.
Most proprietary rights are acquired within the range of sources
provided by patrilineal and matrilineal kin and other cognates
and affines but adoptees may also acquire proprietary rights
within landholding groups. In most cases noted where a man had
been adopted by a member of his own or a nearby village he had
continued to exercise in full his rights to the land of his natal
group.

597 In former times it was not uncommon for a successful warrior to
727 bring back the son of a victim he had killed during an intertribal
425 raid. The child would be brought up as a full member of the
adoptive group and would acquire land rights there. (Any new-
comers' descendants, such as the Arehu lineage, may be absorbed
into a narrow adoptive group of agnates while they are incorporated
only marginally into the wider descent group.)

597 There are frequent instances of temporary foster relationships
at Sivepe. Although a man who adopts a local child sometimes
acts only as a foster father without needing to grant land rights,
an adoptee needs neither to be destitute nor to relinquish any

A, [See Category 428, pp. 111-117--Analysis] B, [See Category 428, p. 112--Analysis]

C, [See Category 428, pp. 112-113--Analysis] D, [See Category 597, p. 60--Analysis]

597 rights he has already received from his natal group before he may acquire proprietary rights and become a permanent member of the adoptive group. He may transmit the former rights to his sons, themselves full members of the new group.

[425] As long as he stays with this group and land is not in short supply he may inherit an equal share with his adoptive father's children. All rights are relinquished if he returns permanently to his natal group. If the land held by the adoptive group is scarce and extensively used by its members, he may become a permanent member of this group without acquiring rights to its land, especially if he was not previously related to the group or if he has access to other land.

An adoptee can continue to exercise his rights to land of his father if it is nearby but it may be difficult for him to retain land which is too far away to cultivate often and, unless he has close kin there protecting his interests, his rights and group identification tend to be contested.

The way rights are established by adoption, as with rights acquired by other processes, cannot be predicted far in advance for the actual rearrangement of proprietary rights in any particular case will be determined by the current relations between the parties involved.

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597 By way of example, one man born into Ato clan is living with his wife's lineage, Bebehupa (of Jegase clan). He has no other close kin and Avala is the nearest place of residence of any member of his natal clan; he is widely and consistently spoken of as a Jegase man (d6J). When his father, a member of Heherita village, was accidentally killed when trying to mediate in a violent dispute between his clansman and Jegase people, his mother married a man of Arehu lineage. He was never given rights to plant on his foster father's land because it was under heavy use but he inherited some land near the Jegase holdings from his father. His wife also inherited land from her father, a Bebehupa man, who had no sons or brothers, and he has sometimes cultivated that.

However, due to serious illness, he is not active in the social and political affairs of his foster father's and affines' local descent group. As he is in a dependent and marginal social position and can use land of his own, his intermittent efforts to cultivate the Bebehupa land are not warmly welcomed by the leader of this lineage, regardless of the stated intentions of both the adoptee and his wife, a childless couple, to pass the land which each inherited to the sons of the Bebehupa leader.

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614 In practice there are no land rights and obligations which the different Jegase lineages recognise toward each other as members

those visitors who had given most cash. In former times, they said, feasts usually continued for two to five days, but today there is a tendency, particularly in areas where paid work is available, to get them over in a single night or week-end.

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While the rationale for the party was the birthday of the two children, they were in fact conspicuous by their absence from any aspect of the celebrations, feasting or exchange. The changing modes of dancing, dress, entertainment and economic exchange showed a constant striving to acquire foreign behaviour patterns. The feast did serve to confirm the adoption of the children (which had not previously been formalized) and to affirm the bona fides of the son-in-law who had been unable to meet his bride-wealth obligations. But it appeared to me that the main motive of the promoter (a retired mission teacher whose prestige was considerable, but waning in his retirement, and whose status was marginal in a patrivirilocal society in which circumstances forced him to live in the village of two of his daughters' husbands) was to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence.

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Bibliography

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423 three categories in relation to particular clans, i.e. a man
613 may be a primary member of an Inonda sub-clan and a secondary
641 member of his mother's clan; or a married woman may be a
contingent member of her father's clan, a secondary member of
her mother's clan and a permissive member of her husband's
423 clan. Each category may be sub-divided according to sex, for
562 the rights of males in each category are in some respects
different from those of females. Hunting rights, for example,
are never exercised by women though occasionally a husband
hunts on the land of his wife's sub-clan. Likewise food gardens
are seldom planted by a married woman on land in which her
lineage has proprietary rights; and men quite often harvest tree
crops from their mothers' lands, though women seldom do so.

641 The people of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans
613 of Inonda recognize all other members of their respective clans,
423 wherever they reside, as kinsmen. Although distant kinsmen
visit for feasts and ceremonial occasions, only those persons
who can trace descent from the original Inonda settlers have any
proprietary rights in the Inonda lands. It is said that any clans-
man who was evicted from another village would be given
asylum here and provided with whatever land he needed for sus-
tenance, but this has never occurred in fact, with the exception
of the Jegotumo who came over from Hohota, though in that case
they had contributed a bride, pigs and valuables to the exchange
at the time of acquisition of the Inonda lands.

Individuals normally acquire their land rights only
as a function of their status with respect to particular descent
groups but such rights are acquired from an individual within the
descent group rather than from the descent group as a whole.
As stability of residence strengthens the rights of particular
descent groups so also does it lead to the clearer definition of
the rights of individuals.

641 The status of adoptees varies according to in-
613 dividual circumstances as the following examples show. About
423 fifty years ago the Andiriha (who were then living at Sambogo)
591 attacked a village of a neighbouring but unrelated Managalas
tribe. Some of the inhabitants were killed and others fled.
Two small boys who were captured were adopted by an Andiriha

614 man and both are now aged residents of Inonda. Having no
613 other source of land rights they became accepted as primary
423 (but perhaps less privileged) members of their adoptive father's
591 lineage and sub-clan and were given rights to some of his land.
These are still held. One of them married an Inonda woman and
his children have acquired some rights from their father and
some from their mother. The other man married a woman
from the neighbouring Urio village. He has no children and
lives with his only adopted daughter's family. He is old and
senile and cannot leave the house. When all the lands of the
village had been covered by our survey, none had been mentioned
as belonging to him. When the matter was queried it was ex-
plained that technically he had rights in the lands of his lineage
of adoption, but that as an aged dependant without issue, these
rights would lapse on his death. In practice they had already
lapsed.

(348) Two illegitimate children have been adopted by the
father of their respective mothers (who were sisters). They
will acquire land rights from him in the same way as if they
were his own children. (His only born son is at present teach-
ing in New Britain). In one case, however, the mother's present
husband has also offered to make land available to the boy when
he grows up. In the early stages at least he would acquire only
permissive rights to this land.

591 In the event of the death of a local man who has
768 young children, the children will need adoption in so far as
428 foster care is concerned, but not necessarily in so far as land
rights are concerned. A current example is that of the death of
the only resident adult member of the Oiwa'undi lineage. A
man of Jegotumo lineage took in the deceased's wife and "adopt-
ed" his children, but it is understood that they will inherit their
land rights from their father, though in the event of need they
could get land from their adoptive father. The adoptive father
at present acts as 'trustee' for their lands.

A marginal case is that of a young unmarried man of
a distant tribe whose mother recently remarried to an Inonda
widower who has no children. The young man lives and plants
with the couple. His mother's new husband speaks of him as
his adopted son and says that if he remains in the village he will

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428 inherit rights to some of his adoptive father's land, but most of the land will pass to the adoptive father's brother's children. If the adoptee does not remain in the village he will acquire no rights. The other children of the new wife remained in their home village with their father's kin. They will acquire no rights in Inonda.

In fact the fathers of over half of the Inonda men seem to have died before the children reached maturity. Most men, therefore, have been in an adoptive relationship, though in varying degrees, and one man had three adoptive fathers in succession. If land is readily available adoptees most frequently inherit from their own fathers, but if this is not convenient, rights can be acquired from the adoptive father.

There is usually no ceremony to mark adoption but it is of interest to note that the status of adoptees (and others whose status within a descent group is vague or marginal) is to some extent fixed by the government census. This is no doubt unintentional on the part of the census-takers, but we have frequently heard people say that a certain person should get his rights from a particular man because the patrol officer recorded them together in the village book; or in a particular village because his name appears in the register of that village.

Rights in relation to categories of land

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361 House-sites: The various house-sites in Inonda were allotted by informal discussion at the time the village was set up. At first the Andiriha built their houses on the northern side and the Jego'undi on the southern side of the village square but the Andiriha have subsequently expanded to the western and southern sides. The eastern side is occupied by the government rest house. Where two brothers live in separate households, their houses are adjacent, as are those of fathers and sons. [61] House-sites of members of the same lineage are contiguous except in the case of a recently married man who had to build on another site within the village because the area occupied by his lineage was full.

[425] There do not seem to be any specific boundaries between houses, and rights to any particular house-site are said to

428 The inheritance of economic trees is a little more complex. All of them take a number of years to mature (about fourteen in the case of sago) and several informants mentioned that "trees are for the children". It is quite common to plant trees and name them for specific children or grandchildren. Although most trees were said to have been planted by the father or grandfather of the present owner, there were several instances of inheritance from a brother or fathers' brother. It is quite common for an individual to inherit a few trees from matrilineal kin (almost invariably one's mother's father or brother). This practice is not universal and several men claimed no trees from matrikin. Informants indicated that the practice of giving trees to non-resident kin was less common in past generations, but has become more widespread with the increased mobility which has resulted from the post-war improvement of communications. The evidence collected supports this view, for although few of the older men had received trees from matrilineal kin, all those with married daughters had allotted a tree or trees to their grandchildren.

• [59] As earlier noted, adoption (of various degrees) is widespread. Many adoptees who acquired no long-term land rights or other property from adoptive parents did receive one or more trees. One man in particular claims trees from three successive adoptive fathers.

614 position will be insecure.

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The man who resides in the village by virtue of the fact that two of his daughters are married to Andiriha men has been invited to plant coffee in Inonda but he considers the risk of future dispute too great to do so. He is therefore planning to return to his village of origin to plant cash crops and has already begun clearing there.

The one man who has planted cocoa on Inonda land did so, not on his own lineage land, but on that of another lineage which has no adult members at present. But the mother of the children whose lineage holds primary rights to the land has objected strongly and has succeeded in stopping him from expanding his plantings. One other Andiriha man staked out land and planted shade for cocoa, again on the same land of the other lineage mentioned, but has been prevented from planting. (1)

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Partly as a result of the uncertainty of their tenure the villagers are again considering shifting the village site. (2) Several possibilities are being considered. Some wish to move to land held by an Andiriha sub-clan which lives at Hohota and which has close links with the Inonda sub-clan. These point out that they have no certainty of tenure for their cash crops on the existing land, whereas at Hohota there is land which is

(57A)

(1) This dispute resulted from the fact that when the last adult member of the lineage died, his wife remarried and her new husband "adopted" her children. Those who moved onto the land reasoned that as the children had been adopted, the local branch of the lineage had died out and the land was available for use by any member of the sub-clan. The mother, on the other hand, claimed that the children would not inherit land from their adoptive father but from their born father. She won her point by threatening to complain to Native Affairs officers who, the villagers said, would undoubtedly have supported her.

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(2) This is not the only reason for moving, and the prevalence of sorcery in the present location is felt to be responsible for the supposed excessive death-rates. (There has in fact been a decline in population from 60 in 1949, to 49 in 1957, 45 in 1960 and 45 today). The Allied Geographical Section (1942, Appendix G) gave the population as approximately 120 in 1942, but the accuracy of this figure is in doubt.

797 this became the core of a new community. At the time of my arrival the European mission sister had been replaced by a Papuan assistant medical officer who, though from another tribal area, strengthened the Papuan missionary group. There were ten teachers, a priest, a deacon and the medical officer, together with their mostly large families--a population that must have been close to 100. Also on the mission station were the boarding school students, adolescents from various districts (their number was around 60), some of them related to the mission teachers. It was customary for the teachers to adopt the children of relatives to be educated on the station under their care. This further added to the Papuan mission station strength.

[877] In this atmosphere the European staff, though indisputably in command, were severely handicapped, as usual, by their lack of information about what was really happening on the station. Not infrequently, I was better informed about this than the head teacher, because the station gossip would flow very easily into Sivepa whereas the mission staff were careful not to tell the head, for fear of inviting instructions they might not wish to obey. The big building projects, such as the hospital, were organised without his knowledge; the workers suddenly appeared and started work; after a few weeks pulled down the building, not being satisfied with it, and started again. They only approached the head when they wanted nails.

797 To the Orokaiva of the district, the real power struggle was not with the head but with the mission staff. This does not reflect on the head personally; indeed, shortly before my departure, he became a candidate in the Higaturu Council elections and was elected councillor for the ward which includes the mission station, on the votes of surrounding villagers. This very fact, however, indicates that he was not involved in the power rivalries surrounding the station; it was expected that he would be effective in negotiating with the council for water supplies, roading improvements and such like and that, being virtually a stranger, he would not upset existing power relations.

797 The power rivalries arose because the mission station Papuans regarded themselves as definitely superior to the villagers. The Motu-speakers especially thought of themselves as carriers of a higher culture than that of the Orokaiva--better dances, better loincloths, better headdresses, better pots, and above all, a long association with the mission during which their district had become altogether more civilised than the inland people. It was because the Orokaiva were ignorant that they had to depend on Motu mission teachers.

This boasting troubled the Orokaiva especially because it had some factual basis. Much present-day Orokaiva culture is borrowed from the coast and coastal art and technology is superior in sophistication. Gona was the birthplace of the Anglican mission of the Northern District; hence, the coast has produced a disproportionate number of priests and mission teachers, the most prominent of whom is the Bishop who is himself a Gona man. In these circumstances owners of land surrounding the mission station saw some risks in making

- 521 of them made frequent visits to Popondetta and there met urbanised Sangara. A group used to meet in the hotel for what were often political discussions arising out of current events and rumours. This emphasis on the political and ideological reminded me of what I had seen among the Maori, the Indonesians and what is reflected in recent African studies: the kinship universe is crosscut by other ideas presupposing a political centre, centralised power, fundamental social and economic changes. The presence of Papuan public servants made much difference here. For instance, nobody in Sivepe, discussing savings accounts, would have thought of telling me that there are 54 cooperative societies in the district only four of which are Savings and Loan Societies. This group knew the pulse of the Northern District in concrete factual terms while Sivepe relied on disconnected phenomena that happened to drift into their ken and from which their suspicions and hopes shaped an image sustained by the stories of their councillor.
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Section 5: Internal Influences of the Eruption

- 361 Compared to the two sample villages, Hohorita is a more densely
621 concentrated settlement, with 348 inhabitants in 41 houses. When I
[161] was there, there were still two clearly separated araha; the dominant
clans of the front village section were Moreopa and Oripa; in the back,
Besupa and Sehopa. But within each section, there was no striking
separation of the clans into "sides" as in villages in the Sasembata
district. House distances were as at Sivepe.

- 614 In contrast to Sivepe, there is no tendency for clan groups to
621 fuse, 12 independent names being given to me. This number can be
somewhat reduced if we ignore those clan names represented by a single
family where the wife belongs to one of the major Hohorita clans--the
wife is then the "sponsor," in Fischer's sense, of the household.
Thus, two of the clan names given to me belonged to immigrants from
the Sasembata district who had married into Sangara. For all practical
purposes their allegiance lay with the clan of their wives. The other
clan names were all Sangara, representing survivors from numerous
pre-eruption villages.

- 592 In household composition, the smaller settlements of Sombou and
Kakita rather resembled Sivepe, but in Hohorita three-generation
households were more common and bachelor's houses were not found.

- [597] Furthermore, many children were left parentless through the eruption
and these were adopted by Hohorita households, especially by childless
ones. As a result, childless households in Hohorita are far rarer
than in Sivepe. A considerable number of marriages and remarriages
[423] occurred immediately after the eruption. The sharp drop in population,
furthermore, left Sangara with plenty of land for the survivors, so
that 25-35 year age group is far better represented in Hohorita than in
Sivepe.